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WEEKEND READING FOR THE PRESIDENT REFER TO DOS

13 - 14 December 1969

Contents

DEFENSE

1. Aaron Wildavsky, "The Politics of ABM," Commentary, November 1969.

The dean of the Graduate School of Public Affairs at Berkeley writes perceptively about the arguments used by advocates and opponents during the ABM debate, and also tries to explain why the ABM became such a major public issue.

2. Frank E. Bothwell, "Is the ICBM Obsolete?" Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, October 1969.

A scientist argues that land-based ICBM's have become obsolete because of their vulnerability to attack by accurate MIRV's. He argues that the United States can achieve stability of strategic forces by unilateral action, namely by replacing our ICBM force with sea-based missiles. This view is not novel, but Dr. Bothwell makes a concise statement of the argument.

THE COMMUNIST WORLD

3. John Paton Davies, "The U.S. Invented the 'Imbalance of Power,'" New York Times Magazine, December 7, 1969.

A once-controversial "old China hand" argues that the U.S. should abandon its squeamishness about balance-of-power and sphere-of-influence politics. It follows also that, in the Moscow-Peking-Washington contest, we should act so as to give encouragement to the Chinese as a check on Soviet power. The USSR, he says, is "by far the more dangerous."

4. Tibor Szamuely, "The USSR since Khrushchev," SURVEY, summer 1969.

An excellent analysis of the state of the Soviet Union after five years of Brezhnev and Kosygin. It points out that the question of a "restoration of Stalinism" is irrelevant: "There is nothing to restore. Stalinism was never dismantled." The author is Lecturer in Politics at the University of Reading, England, and a political commentator for the British conservative journal, Spectator.

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AFRICA

5. Ray Vicker, "South Africa: Dilemma for U.S. Firms," Wall Street Journal, December 11, 1969.

An interesting article surveying attitudes and problems of U.S. business firms operating in South Africa. It cites the domestic public reaction in the U.S. as a factor which may possibly inhibit U.S. firms from investing or operating in South Africa, even though the book value of U.S. investment there has doubled in the past six years. U.S. firms recognize the public relations problem in the U.S. but argue that the investment climate and return in South Africa are good, and that their operations increase employment opportunities which benefit black workers there. Employers, both U.S. and South African, are bringing about some changes in restrictive labor policies. The article poses the question whether boycotts on moral or political grounds of U.S. firms doing business in countries with whose policies some or most disagree (e.g., South Africa) will lead to an absurd proliferation of boycotts (e.g., against firms doing business in Greece, Sweden, Bolivia, etc.)

MIDDLE EAST

6. "Guns or Butter in Cyprus," The Economist Foreign Report, December 4, 1969.

This article provides a concise and reasonably well-balanced analysis of the Cyprus situation. As you know, this is a very delicate and potentially explosive situation that could bring two NATO allies -- Greece and Turkey -- to the brink of war if it were to heat up again. The article notes that Cyprus today gives an "outward impression of stability and progress; the trouble is that the basic political problems remain."

THE AMERICAN LEFT

7. William D. Phelan, Jr., "The Authoritarian Prescription," The Nation, November 3, 1969.

A young contributor to the Ripon Forum and a former reporter for the Wall Street Journal launches a broad-front attack on what he sees as powerful forces inhibiting and eventually smothering American political life. He sees the military-industrial bloc and the "internal security" apparatus as

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expanding their role in the political system quietly but systematically, and he views the reputed "Southern Strategy" as potentially building an authoritarian dynasty on these imposing foundations. A methodical but intense exposition of the conspiratorial worldview.

- 8. Donald Atwell Zoll, "Shall We Let America Die?" National Review, December 16, 1969.

The author deplores the "death-wish" of American liberals who seem too weary to defend their own humane values against the onslaught of the nihilist Left. He hopes that American conservatives, who share many civilized values with the liberals (e.g., libertarianism and legalism), have the moral fortitude to confront their resulting dilemma: i.e., should conservatives be as "responsible" and accommodating as the liberals, and collapse with them? Or should they fight back, uninhibited by liberal proprieties as to method? The author reluctantly points toward the latter, in a thoughtful article. He is Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Classics at the University of Saskatchewan.